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Lynching, one evil of the
small county government

Baltimore, Md.?

[1920?]

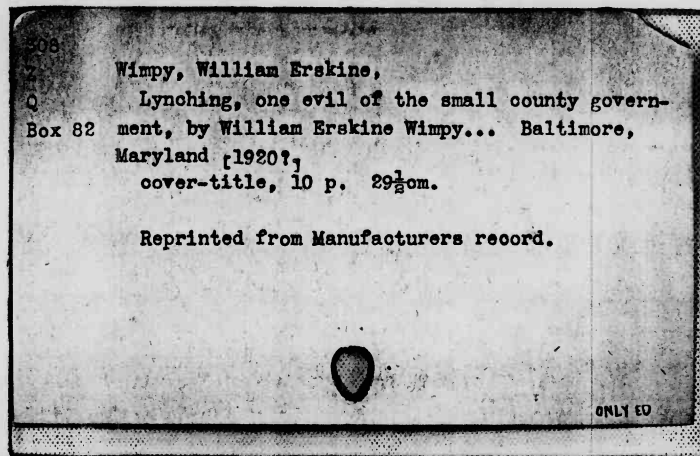
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LYNCHING

One Evil of the Small County Government

BY

WILLIAM ERSKINE WIMPY

HALLIBURTON HALL

CLARKSTON, GEORGIA

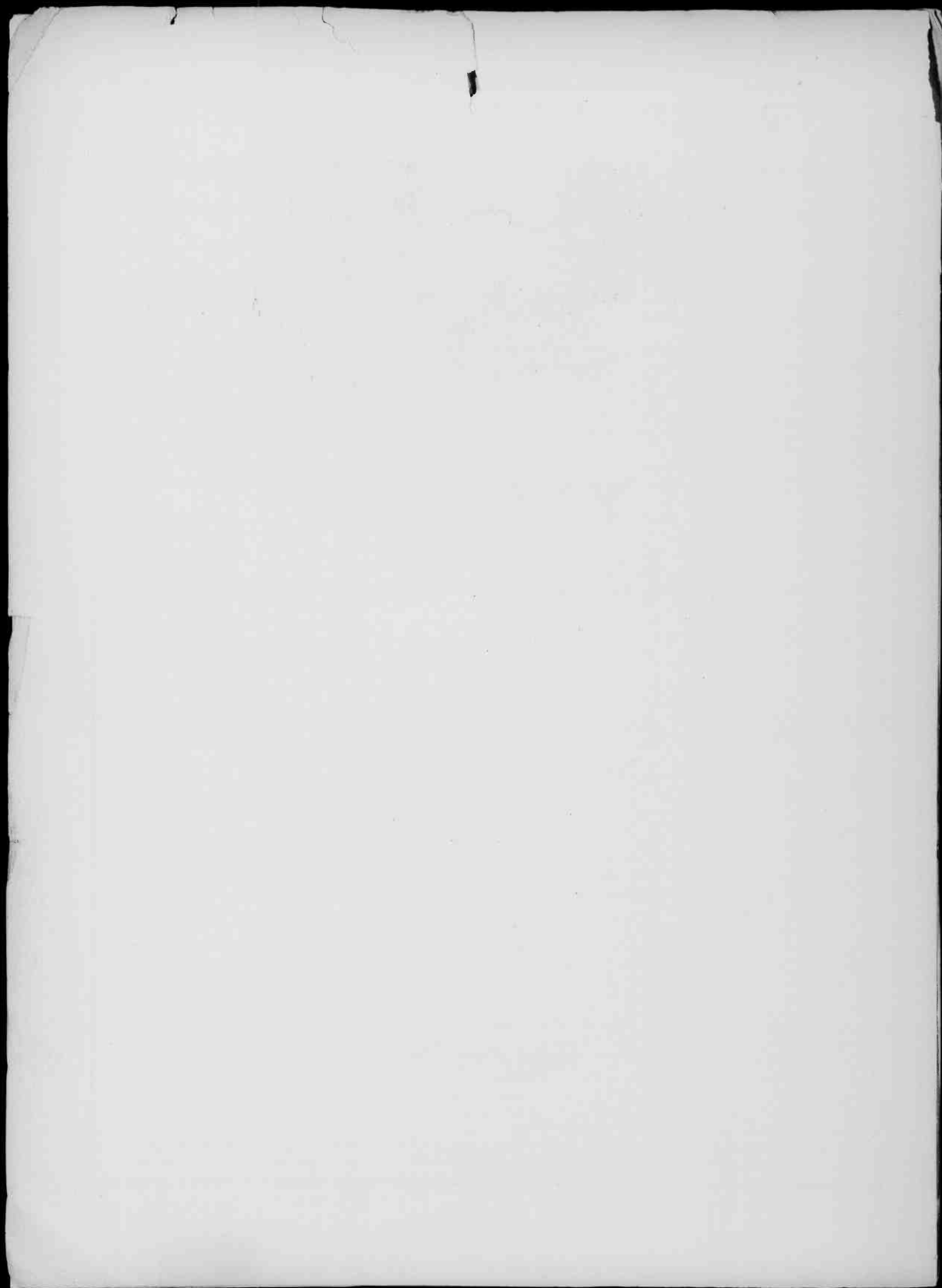
U. S. A.

Reprinted from

Manufacturers Record

Exponent of America

Baltimore, Md.



Lynching, an Evil of County Government

How It Endangers Civilization and Menaces State Control of Local Affairs

"Halliburton Hall."

Clarkston, Ga., August 24, 1916.

Editor *Manufacturers Record*:

I have just read with great interest an address of 21 pages delivered before the Georgia Bar Association by Mr. Robert C. Alston, "Concerning Lynching"

Mr. Alston is different from most lawyers and orators in his pictures of word painting, in that he not only puts life and expression in them, but he puts brains.

Life, liberty and property are three things that the law must guarantee to man before trial, and especially to him who lives in the South. There is not any brighter legal light shining today than Robert Cotton Alston.

Having stated the facts above, I submit statistics of the States in our Union showing the population, area in square miles, number lynched and counties in each State in 1915 to October 11:

States.	Counties.	Area in sq. miles.	Lynchings in 1915 to Oct. 11.	Popu- lation.
Alabama	67	51,998	7	2,138,093
Arizona	14	113,966	2	204,354
Arkansas	75	53,335	3	1,574,449
California	58	158,297	..	2,577,549
Colorado	63	100,948	..	799,024
Connecticut	5	4,965	..	1,114,756
Florida	50	58,666	4	751,139
Georgia	152	59,265	14	2,609,121
Idaho	33	83,888	..	325,954
Illinois	102	56,665	1	5,838,591
Indiana	92	36,354	..	2,700,876
Iowa	99	56,147	..	2,224,771
Kansas	105	82,158	..	1,690,949
Kentucky	120	40,598	..	2,289,905
Louisiana	61	48,506	3	1,656,388
Maine	16	33,040	..	742,371
Maryland	24	12,327	..	1,295,346
Massachusetts	14	8,266	..	3,366,416
Michigan	83	57,890	..	2,810,173
Minnesota	86	84,682	..	2,075,708
Mississippi	80	46,885	6	1,797,114
Missouri	115	69,420	2	3,293,335
Montana	31	146,997	..	370,653
Nebraska	93	77,530	..	1,192,214
Nevada	16	110,690	..	81,875
New Jersey	21	8,224	..	2,537,167
New Hampshire	10	9,341	..	430,572
New Mexico	26	122,634	..	327,301
New York	62	49,304	..	9,113,275
North Carolina	100	52,426	4	2,206,287
North Dakota	50	70,837	..	577,066
Ohio	88	41,040	..	4,767,121
Oklahoma	77	70,057	3	1,657,155
Oregon	34	96,899	..	672,765
Pennsylvania	67	45,126	..	7,665,111
Rhode Island	5	1,248	..	542,610
South Carolina	44	30,959	1	1,515,400
South Dakota	61	77,615	..	583,888
Tennessee	96	42,022	3	2,184,789
Texas	248	265,896	20	3,896,542
Utah	27	84,990	..	373,351
Vermont	14	9,564	..	355,956
Virginia	120	42,627	..	2,061,612
Washington	39	69,127	..	1,141,990
West Virginia	55	24,170	..	1,221,119
Wisconsin	71	56,066	..	2,333,890
Wyoming	21	97,914	..	146,698
Alaska (Territory)	..	590,884	..	..

The total number of lynchings in the United States from 1885 to October 11, 1915, was 3583. From the figures submitted one will see at a glance that 78 lynchings took place in nine and one-half months last year. The astounding fact is that 77 were in the South and only one in the North.

Now, there must be a cause for this, and when I know that the power of organization is destroyed by overorganization, then it is only natural that we examine the organization, and when we do we find that our most cherished plank in the system or organization of government is "State Rights," and that each of our States has

From *Manufacturers Record*, August 24, 1916.

within it a great number of small States or counties (I call them *family governments*). For an illustration we will take Georgia. She has only 2,609,121 inhabitants and 152 county governments (and the present Legislature is trying to give birth to "sextette"), and the different little Georgia county or family governments lynched 14 citizens of the United States in nine and one-half months, while South Carolina, the hottest State in our Union, on her east, only has 44 little family governments (or counties), so she only lynched one, and we find Alabama on our west with 67 county or family governments lynching seven. Of course, as she only shows about half as many little families as Georgia, so she only lynched about half as many. Alabama's population, though, is only 2,158,093; so you see she has kept up to record. Then Mississippi, with 80 counties and only 1,797,114 inhabitants, lynching six, and Texas, with 248 family governments and only 3,896,542 inhabitants, lynching 20.

We must understand that area does not count for much, although I have furnished it in my figures—population is what makes a family, and the individuals are the ones that are guaranteed life, liberty and property before trial.

Look at the figures and see how dear old Maryland shines—no lynchings there—she is not overorganized; she has only 24 good counties; therefore, she has good government. If Georgia would merge her counties down to the same proportion as Maryland she would have only 49 instead of 152 and get rid of 103 county outfits and stop the pay of over 2000 employees she don't need and 2000 more men that make up her grand juries, etc., and then lynching and whitewashing of crime would stop and equity would be found.

The record shows that New York and Pennsylvania have 16,778,986 population and only 129 counties combined, against Georgia's 152; in other words, Georgia has 23 more. Again, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Louisiana, Alabama have about the same population as New York and Pennsylvania, and they have combined counties of 950, against New York and Pennsylvania of 129. The United States has three prisons for all her landed territory, while the States named have 950, or one for each county.

I quote from R. C. Alston's address, pages 12, 19 and 20:

It is, of course, first the duty of the citizen to refrain from lawlessness, and thereby deprive the general Government of excuse for this interference with State laws.

It is next the duty of the State to so order its laws that the insufficiency of them will not be so glaring and atrocious.

No one who has the slightest knowledge of the subject doubts but that the laws of this State are inadequate to the subject, both as to enactment and administration.

The system is such that they always will be inadequate in administration unless they are materially altered.

There is usually much public sentiment against the accused who is lynched; the sheriff is elected by the people and becomes thoroughly awakened to the demands of his constituents; if he fails in the discharge of his duties in this respect, the triors are to be selected from the lynchers and their friends; if he discharges his duty, he will incur the enmity of those whom he opposes and their friends. So he reasons that it is better to be overpowered, to be surprised or to be away from the jail.

No serious attempt made by a jailer to prevent a lynching in Georgia has been brought to light in a long time. This does not mean that there are not, and have not been, in Georgia jailers who would discharge their duties in this behalf. No doubt there have been, and are many such. The very fact that there are such is sufficient in and of itself to often prevent the crime in the jurisdiction of such officers.

This defect in the State's laws is glaring and has existed for a long time in spite of much provocation. The first authority to give heed to this condition is the State. By its own enactment it should reserve this source of initiative. Sheriffs form a part of the administrative or executive departments of the State. They should be made accountable to the executive head of the State in such matters; or, if not to him, then they should, in such cases, be amenable directly to the Supreme Court exercising original jurisdiction.

The Governor can remove a railroad commissioner; why not a sheriff? The power need only be written into law.

No one who feels himself the guardian of State rights will for one moment dare arouse the power of the Federal Government to exercise its power to guarantee, by appropriate legislation, that the State will not deprive a citizen of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny him the equal protection of the law.

I have not spoken of those powers that a way may be pointed out to the Federal Government by which its powers may be extended. No man desires more than I that those powers be not extended over the domestic citizenship of the people; no one realizes more than I that the future prosperity of the southern part of this country rests upon the rights of the State to finally and fully deal with this question without interruption. No one desires more than I that it be dealt with wisely and frankly and generously.

But it is intended by what has been said to point out to you, and to those whom I desire to think of as my people, that the rights most deeply cherished and privileges which are of the very essence of our lives are being endangered by a surrender to passions which are base and to a wilfulness which exchanges the desire of the moment for the very fundamentals of our domestic life.

Who will deny that even selfish wisdom dictates that justice and moderation should prevail over lawless passion, which in its fury destroys the victim, yet doubly makes victims of its devotees?

What excuse has the State for failing to adequately protect the prisoner under its lock and key or in its custody?

What reason is there for withholding the enactment of laws which will make the sheriff and his deputies amenable to a jurisdiction which is composed of persons other than the offenders and their sympathizers?

No one believes that any lyncher will be punished, and experience shows that no real effort will be made to find who the lynchers are.

It can no longer be said that lynching is committed for one crime; it is only a few months ago that two negroes were lynched for killing a mule. Everybody knows that that condition ought not to exist, and yet none raises his hand to its cure. Does not this all but invite the Federal Government to take cognizance of the guarantee?

The legislator has felt that he would antagonize local feeling if he promoted laws which would give the State a real means of redressing and preventing this crime. He would encounter the argument that the locality should govern itself.

But he should know that by withholding such laws and by denying such protection to the persons who are in the custody of the law he participates in perpetuating a situation which demands remedy and which, if unremedied, invites the interference of the central Government, and threatens, to a degree which we do not like to contemplate, the rights of the State over matters absolutely essential to our welfare.

The legislator will find that the real enemy of local self-government is he who persists in the maintenance of a system of laws which do not, in fact, govern, but which offer the shadow for substance.

The man who most imperils the right of the State to govern its own affairs is he who aids it to govern wrongfully.

W. E. WIMPY.

The Disregard of Law Breeds Lawlessness

Editor Manufacturers Record:

"Please stress editorially lynching and the evil of 'family' or county government. Sunday paper reports one lynching in Texas, one in Georgia, five on one tree in Florida, three men and two women, one man shot; making eight lives of United States citizens taken in one day. Counties should be reduced if Federal act required to do it."

The foregoing telegram, from Mr. W. E. Wimpy of Atlanta, Ga., whose interesting article on what he calls "family" or county government as being largely responsible for lynching appears elsewhere in this issue, demands the attention of the South.

It would be criminal for this section to shut its eyes to the unspeakable outrage of lynching.

Every lynching is not only a murder of the individual, but a murder of the honor of the State.

Civilization cannot exist where political conditions permit the lyncher to go unhung.

Disguise it as we may and undertake to overlook this heinous crime, the South will march straight to barbarism in proportion as it permits lynching, for lynchings can be stopped whenever the lynchers are legally, by the State, hung. No other punishment should be considered.

The county or State officials who claim that they cannot apprehend the lynchers are false to their oath of office, for properly ferreted out, regardless of the expense of doing so, every State

could apprehend the lynchers and every Grand Jury which fails in its duty to bring lynchers to trial breaks its oath of office.

Every sheriff who does not, if need be, at the risk of his own life and regardless of how many lives he may have to take to do so, defend the criminal is a perjurer and false to his oath.

If men are not willing to uphold the law, regardless of individual consequences, they have neither the moral nor the physical stamina that justifies their holding a public trust.

The South, glorious in some phases of its civilization, in the past and the present has permitted the lawless element to get the upper hand in many sections where law and order should prevail. Some of its people do not recognize their individual responsibility in the maintenance of law and order, and, directly or indirectly, they practically wink at the cold-blooded murder which, however guilty a criminal may be, hangs him to the nearest tree without regard for the law.

Murder is murder, whether committed by the criminal classes, who lynch when it suits their convenience or their passions; whether committed by the educated man who takes the law into his own hand and shoots down some one with whom he has had a controversy, or whether it is done out of revenge or by the thief or burglar who robs a home at night; all are on exactly the same level—they are murderers. The society that does not so recognize them has at heart a rotten spot that is liable to cause complete decay.

From Manufacturers Record, August 24, 1916.

In the early days, before the mixing of Portland cement was fully understood, there was sometimes a mistake made which left a weak but undetected spot in some important structure. Outwardly there was no sign of it. Under ordinary conditions the building would stand, but some day, under some special stress, this unsuspected weakness would give way and the structure would go down to ruin.

Civilization may appear sound outwardly, but if there is some weak spot internally, civilization will sooner or later be wrecked. In the civilization of the South, splendid to look upon, sound in many respects, there is one spot of dangerous weakness in this spirit which permits the individual or the mob to take the law into his or its hands and commit cold-blooded murder, feeling assured that the just penalty of the gallows will not be required.

Until every individual and every mob knows that murder by the individual or by the mob will inevitably end on the gallows, and that, if need be, all the wealth and all the power of the State will be expended, if necessary through years, to accomplish this result, then, and not until then, will this form of murder cease.

Is the South ready to meet the issue? If not, it may rest assured that the people of this country, through their National Government, will not permit the continuation of such murders. States' rights have passed away, and the Democratic party is largely responsible for developing centralized power as against the rights of individual States. No longer can the party or its members oppose centralized power, for the Democratic party in the present Congress has led the way to the utter destruction of States' rights. Those of us who are old-fashioned enough to believe in States' right are back numbers now, when in these days Democrats of high and low estate vie with Republicans as to which shall go the farthest in wiping out State lines and State control of local affairs. We can therefore no longer look to the maintenance of State government as against Federal control, and the people of this country will not permit one section, it matters not where it may be, to continue indefinitely a career of lynching.

Corrupt Politics and Its Relation to Lynching, as Viewed by a Georgian

Halliburton Hall,

Clarkston, Ga., October 18.

Editor Manufacturers Record:

I have read with much interest Mr. H. C. Fuller's article on lynching and your comment on same in the issue of September 14; also Mr. T. W. Shelton in defense of the lawyer, Mr. Fuller having laid the blame upon the judges and lawyers. But before I had finished reading the sixth line of Mr. Shelton's article it had reminded me of the Shadow Lawn eight-hour speech, in which nothing was said about increase in wages, nor any limit being placed on the number of hours one shall work, nor what society demanded the law. Mr. Shelton, in his scholarly article, does not mention "lynching." He makes it clear, though, that we have a Constitution that was written by "men who had the presence of God and the love of freedom in their hearts, and it might have been an inspiration, so exact is it in its checks and balances and correlation as suitably to deal with the human equation for all time to come," says Mr. Shelton, and that the lawyer lawmakers have not kept faith.

Mr. Shelton, I suppose, knows the Declaration of Independence and our Constitution by heart. Hence he must know what Mr. Thomas Jefferson had in his mind when, in 1791, he uttered the injunction that Mr. Shelton referred to, "to render the judiciary respectable by every possible means, to wit, firm tenure in office, competent salaries and reduction of their numbers." Now, before Mr. Jefferson made use of the words "reduction of their numbers" he wrote, in July, 1776, "He has erected a multitude of new offices and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance." Again he wrote, "He has combined, with others, to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation." So, Mr. Shelton must have not only been "forcibly struck" by the letter of Mr. H. C. Fuller, but he must have felt the truth of your words in your comment on Mr. Fuller's letter when you said:

From *Manufacturers Record*, November 16, 1916.

"We are suffering from the rottenness of politics, and if that part of the whole political element of the country—judges, juries, sheriffs and all others who are in any way responsible for this condition—could be forever banished to some distant island of the sea, the country, and the South especially, would breathe a newer and cleaner and purer and sweeter atmosphere of business and social life."

As above stated, Mr. Shelton did not mention the word "lynching," that is the subject under discussion, and I appreciate the frankness in which the *MANUFACTURERS RECORD* and Mr. Fuller have spoken out in meeting on this horrible crime that is being committed weekly in the South, and I feel that Mr. Shelton and the other good lawyers are going to help us tear out the roots of lynching in the South.

In my judgment, the Constitution is all right, and the "executive," the "legislative" and the "judicial" will each remain independent one from the other just so long as the lawyer lawmakers wish it to so be. It would be childish to think otherwise. I am aware of the fact that for the last five years there have been passed in our National and State governments some 12,000 laws per year, or 60,000 in the five years, but honest men can have the bad ones repealed.

Lynching in the South is a fact, not a theory. In your issue of August 24 I showed by statistics 78 lynchings in nine and one-half months in the United States, and 77 of them were in the South. This, I said, was caused by the multitude of county governments within the Southern States, and I stick to it. There is no land under Heaven where the officers swarm from so many hives as in the State of Georgia.

A few days ago our newspapers were telling of a woman who went to intercede in a dispute between her son and an overseer; the man attacked the boy's mother; the boy felled the overseer and fled. When he was captured he did not know the man was dead and that his mother had been lynched. The man who notices things and remembers them will tell you that the

majority of those lynched never see inside of a courthouse from the time the notion is taken to lynch until their eyes are closed in death on the tree.

Now, I will give some figures that the doubting Thomases can look up. The six New England States have combined 67 counties; Georgia has 152.

The Middle States—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware—have combined 153 counties; Georgia has 152.

The four Middle States have a population of 19,521,214; Georgia has only 2,609,121.

The six New England States have a population of 6,652,683; Georgia has only 2,609,121.

The 16 Southern States combined have 1504 counties, which constitutes an army that is controlled and presided over by 16 State armies or State governments, besides a large army of politicians, and a still larger army of more respectable non-producing gentry, and there are two other large non-producing armies that are helping to keep the "dear peepul" away from the savings banks of the "dear solid South."

Now we come to the milk in the cocoanut, and I thank God for the peerless and fearless MANUFACTURERS RECORD, a paper that is, I might say, one in ten thousand that never flinches when it comes to a matter of truth and patriotism. If the lawyers and lawmakers had been one-tenth as true to the nation as the MANUFACTURERS RECORD, there would be no lynching or flinching or talk about the judiciary being encroached on by anything. It is an insult to anyone who has brains enough to keep out of a sawdust pit.

Excuse me for not handing you the cocoanut. Here it is. Drink.

The Constitution of the United States of America, Article IV, Section 4, says that the United States shall guarantee to every State (and county) in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the Legislature or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence (see the oath in Article VI) the Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executives and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation

to support this Constitution, but no religious test, etc. So here we find the law handed down to each of the 48 States and each State giving the same law to each little State or county it creates within its metes and bounds, and mark you, this multitude of little counties have the same guarantee from invasion that the States are given in Article IV, Section 4, of our Constitution; and it is a grand law, were it not abused. This is what Thomas Jefferson had in mind when he said "competent salaries and reduction of their numbers." Think and tell me if you can what paragraph in history denies that if power is given to any people on earth, be they Catholic, Jew, Protestant, Democrat, Republican, Labor Union or what not, they will take life at will?

Not since one of the 1504 little county or family governments has been born in the Southern States has papa or the State dared to invade or enter therein unless requested by her sheriff, not even when five were lynched on one tree, three men and two women, and one man shot for good measure, all on the same day. While these conditions are allowed to exist the American citizen should forget the word Lusitania.

States in our Union with small number of counties having refrained from lynching, in face of the unknown power of suggestion, is invincible proof that the States containing large number of counties should be reduced to a sane and civilized basis, which profit and good to the States would stagger the imagination of the South.

I have no doubt Mr. Fuller has a right and a just cause to jump on his courts. I speak advisedly when I say that there have happened in our courts things that would make the things he speaks of look like a small side-show. The trouble is in the small counties maintained by "rotten politicians" throughout the United States. The union among the officeholders is as loyal as that among lawyers, which is far more loyal than any labor union in existence in America.

It is unthinkable that the guarantee of our nation should be treated as a scrap of paper. With several hundred lynched since Mr. Wilson took the oath I mentioned above, I have yet to hear of him opening his mouth or raising a hand toward attempting to protect one life from being lynched. He could at least have written one "note." Duck and dodge the question as we may, Mr. Wilson has failed in this situation, and it is criminal to attempt to deny it.

W. E. WIMPY.

Dangerous National Tendencies and Some Results of Despotic Government

Halliburton Hall,

Clarkston, Ga., July 18.

Editor Manufacturers Record:

Are we drifting from a National Government of the people, by the people and for the people—to a National Government of a few, by a few, for a few?

Once we have Government ownership of transportation and communication, the Nation's Government will that moment become forever anchored in a few, and the Government of the people, by the people and for the people will be no more.

With an organized army of at least 5,000,000 men in the departments of Government, including railroad, mail, telegraph, tele-

From Manufacturers Record, August 1, 1918.

phone, cable and radio lines, you will find each man will be called on not only for his vote, but a contribution to the campaign fund, and a strict propaganda carried on by his family and friends to elect the same ruler or whatever you may call him. History records no such despot as he will be. Hence, I can not name him.

The Government of a few, by a few, and for a few knows no economic law; knows no constitution and lynches property and life at will! A government of a few, by a few and for a few since 1885 has violated our Constitution about 4000 times. So stands the unimpeachable lynching record.

Since 1908 to July 1, east of the Mississippi River there have been lynched 448 men, women and children. In the MANUFACTURERS RECORD of June 27, in my article headed "There Is an

Immutable Law That in the Degree a Government Is Given Power in That Degree Is Despotism Established," I stated: "There is no National Government on earth except America where so many people are lynched as in the State of Georgia, and the number of small county governments is the cause! For the information of legislators, I here submit the record of 1475 county governments east of the Mississippi River, where just a few absolutely control the election in the small counties.

Mississippi River are not accidents; they with their expense and evils were premeditatedly saddled on the States by those who talk about the good of the dear people, and the sad part is the Democratic States in the South furnish 85 per cent of them, and this only east of the Mississippi River. Time and space forbid giving States west of the river.

Georgia's Legislature, the guardian of our dear people is in session now. A bill was introduced the first day to carve from three

States No.	States East Mississippi River.	No. Co. Gov.	State pop. 1910.	Average pop. Co. Gov.	No. small Co. Gov. 7,000 to 20,000.	Lynched 1908 to 1918, July 1.
1	District of Columbia.....	1	331,069	331,069	..	..
2	Delaware	3	203,322	67,774	..	..
3	Rhode Island	5	542,610	108,522	..	..
4	Connecticut	8	1,144,756	143,094	..	..
5	New Hampshire.....	10	430,572	43,057	..	..
6	Vermont	14	335,956	25,425	..	..
7	Massachusetts	14	3,306,416	240,458	..	..
8	Maine	16	742,371	46,335	..	..
9	New Jersey	21	2,537,167	120,817	..	..
10	Maryland	24	1,295,346	53,972	8	1
11	South Carolina.....	43	1,515,400	35,241	..	25
12	Florida	52	752,619	14,281	..	67
13	West Virginia.....	55	1,221,119	22,202	3	3
14	New York	61	9,113,614	149,403	..	..
15	Pennsylvania	67	7,665,111	114,404	10	1
16	Alabama	68	2,138,092	31,442	..	49
17	Mississippi	80	1,796,114	22,451	..	77
18	Ohio	88	4,767,121	54,137	10	3
19	Indiana	93	2,700,876	29,043	..	1
20	Tennessee	96	2,134,789	22,237	..	33
21	North Carolina.....	99	2,206,287	22,285	..	8
22	Virginia	100	2,061,612	20,616	..	8
23	Illinois	103	5,638,591	54,743	37	6
24	Kentucky	119	2,289,905	10,839	..	31
25	Georgia	154	2,609,121	16,942	*	135
						448

*Where population is below 50,000 there was no use to figure out the number of small counties. They are in the lynching class.

When one stops to think that in 10 years the entire North and West had 31 lynchings, and the State of Georgia in the same period had 135 lynchings, it becomes time to look for the cause.

I am no writer of fiction on lynchings; I am writing advisedly, and for those who want the records they are obtainable. I have them from 1885 and can give the man, woman or child's name, offense, place, date, month and year since January, 1914, lynched in the United States.

In looking at the record you will find no lynching except in States with small counties. Having never given government a thought, you wonder why this is. I will tell you. Under "State Rights" and the "Bill of Rights" and the "Constitution" of our land in criminal cases there is no indictment and trial unless the Government of a few, by a few and for a few so elect, and should they for some reason so elect, there can be no appeal to a higher court when they turn the criminal loose. You cannot put a man's life in jeopardy twice.

Under our Constitution there are no State courts in the strict meaning of the word; they are simply county courts. No State I know of ever tried a case. You cannot get jurisdiction over a man outside of his county in a civil suit. Nor can an indictment be had outside of the county where the crime is committed. And no man can serve on the jury who does not live in the county. Therefore, the county court is absolute and the State is powerless. There is a State Supreme Court that can review a case, and the only thing it can do if it does not concur in the county's decision is to send it back to the county for another trial. Therefore, the evils in the power given a small government of only a few is manifest.

By the record you see that life, the dearest thing on earth, is taken without due process of law, so what can one expect for property? The greatest danger the nation faces today is the political communist who thrives on political patronage. He will plunder the States with small counties and government ownership of transportation and communication, and then we will have perfect damnation. These 1475 absolute governments east of the Mis-

issippi River are not accidents; they with their expense and evils were premeditatedly saddled on the States by those who talk about the good of the dear people, and the sad part is the Democratic States in the South furnish 85 per cent of them, and this only east of the Mississippi River. Time and space forbid giving States west of the river.

Georgia's Legislature, the guardian of our dear people is in session now. A bill was introduced the first day to carve from three counties a new county to be named Lamar. Also a bill has already passed the House to create three more Senatorial districts. It does look as if men of thought, logic and reason could see the danger in a government set up by a few people whose officers' positions depend upon the small vote of only a few of the subjects of that government. The number of voters gotten to the polls in any small county election is pitiful. I will quote the words of Bishop Warren A. Candler, taken from the Atlanta Journal June 23, 1918, which points out the danger of small county governments. But the annihilation of small counties that would correct the evil of lynching was as far from the Bishop's mind as the East from the West. Listen to the wisdom of the words of Bishop Candler:

"Courts have never hesitated to punish rapists and murderers, and the men who compose mobs know perfectly well that such criminals will be speedily punished, if guilty. Indeed, the danger is in the opposite direction; courts may be too hasty when public opinion is highly inflamed against a man charged with a revolting offense. It is not impossible for even a court under some conditions to perpetuate something close akin to lynching itself, especially when judges are elected by popular vote.

"The judges are for the most part disposed to administer law justly, but their efforts are frequently defeated by jurists who are less conscientious and more swayed by passion and prejudice."

How different it would be if 10 small counties were merged into one in my State! Then the county would only have one district inflamed and the other nine districts of the county would be cool. And the jury could be selected from uninfamed people. You cannot expect justice from an inflamed judge, sheriff, jury and people. It is idiotic to talk about justice among such people. Here is the cause of lynching, the clergy and politicians may shout and pray, weep and moan until Judgment Day, but political patronage, the mother of small counties, will continue to breed lynchings.

The power of association is unknown, but a large county, with 200,000 population in the world's center of lynching, has caused me

to doubt it. Listen to the story, for it will convince even a "doubting Thomas" that a large county does and can prevent lynching 99 times out of 100.

On Saturday, Memorial Day, 1914, one of the fairest buds that was ever about to blossom into that beautiful womanhood so loved by man lived in the small county of Cobb, with 28,000 population, adjoining Fulton. A monument stands over her grave in Marietta, Ga., today. When the lust of man caused that sweet bud to be clipped from the stem of life the foulest and blackest crime in the annals of history of the world was committed. The nation was indignant from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, from the frozen seas to the Gulf of Mexico, and today no State, Federal or Supreme Courts' reports on this round globe contains blacker pages than where Mary Phagan's case is reported. And this convicted man was not lynched by the big county of Fulton. She held him in her jail for over 15 months, until all the courts in the land with jurisdiction passed on the case at least twice. It was also carried

to Washington twice. But when his sentence was commuted and he was sent to the small 18,350-population county of Baldwin at Milledgeville, Ga., men in the small county of Cobb went and got him, carried him back to Cobb, something like 100 miles, and there, in their county, lynched him at sunrise August 16, 1915, on a red oak tree nine inches in diameter. They knew no court on earth had jurisdiction outside of the metes and bounds of Cobb county. If the Governor who commuted the sentence had been living in a small county there can be no doubt that he would have been lynched. Those who saw the scene at his house would not doubt this statement. He owes his life today to a large county.

The issue herein is so clearly defined that civilized man can no longer dodge it. The echo, "Thou shalt not kill," from Mt. Sinai covers the land, and he who says he does not hear it and raises not his voice stands guilty as an accessory before the fact to the crime of murder.

W. E. WIMPY.

Mob Lynching Lynches the Law

By W. E. WIMPY, Halliburton Hall, Clarkston, Ga.

Has a cloud that we cannot see crept across the sky that the lynchers and strikers are watching, or are their intellects battling with a new regret? In any event, they and the people seem not the least disturbed by the signs of the times as portrayed in the press, notwithstanding the fact that the nation unguided is approaching the apogee of its prosperity. The mob acts at Washington, Boston, Chicago, St. Louis, Knoxville, Omaha and other localities throughout the States, of riots, lynchings and strikes seem but coincident.

The MANUFACTURERS RECORD has for years stood on historical ground and offered in its editorials the yardstick of truth and wisdom to our people with the accurate and profound knowledge and firm convictions that spring from the records of eternal history and truth. The intelligent reader cannot help but be sad when he recalls to mind how the religious hand, the industrial hand, the economic hand, and governmental hand of the nation at times ignored the warning and counsel of the MANUFACTURERS RECORD on free silver at 16 to 1, on the inevitable breakdown of the railroads, on the concentration of ports, on the concentration of iron mills on our northern border, on preparedness, on the violation of our supreme law—the Constitution of our land, and in many other matters which space forbids mentioning.

When Mr. Edmonds penned the words to this effect: "It is not the victim the mob lynches in a community, it is the law," he penned the greatest truth ever read on paper since the dawn of civilization. God in His wisdom had our fathers give us undoubtedly the most wonderful law ever evolved by man for the purpose of serving humanity, and to lynch that law is to snuff out the light of civilization where the lynching takes place.

It was not Mayor Smith of Omaha that the frenzied mob hanged at the end of rope twice—it was the law incarnate.

The time has come when the nation must listen to the words of the MANUFACTURERS RECORD, "It is not the victim the mob lynches in a community; it is the law." Necessity here is the parent of obedience as it is the parent of action.

In Omaha on the day after the lynching, the World-Herald said editorially:

"We have felt, however briefly, the fetid breath of anarchy on

our cheeks. We have experienced the cold chill of fear which it arouses. We have seen as in a nightmare its awful possibility. We have learned how frail is the barrier which divides civilization from the primal jungle, and we have been given to see clearly what that barrier is. It is the law. It is the might of the law wisely and fearlessly administered. It is the respect for and obedience to the law on the part of the members of society. When these fail us, all things fail. When these are lost, all will be lost. Should the day ever come when the rule that was in Omaha Sunday night became the dominant rule, the grasses of the jungle would over-spread our civilization, its wild denizens, human and brute, would make their foul feast on the ruins, and the God who rules over us would turn His face in horror from a world given over to bestiality. May the lesson of Sunday night sink deep!"

The cause of lynching in our land is that we are the only government on earth that has set up several thousand little-bitty, small, weak, distinctive governments. And under the system we guarantee them that they can do as they please with life or property. So what can one expect when a few become excited; there is no government in the sense of government. The power of suggestion is unknown and the multitude of little-bitty, small, weak governments is contaminating the large county governments the same as rotten apples in a barrel will contaminate the good ones.

It is becoming common for cries of "Lynch him!" "Hang him!" "Get a rope and string him up!" etc., to be heard even on the streets of New York city, whenever a crowd gathers in response to a feeling of popular excitement or indignation over the perpetration of some atrocious crime.

From 1885 to 1906 our Government paid indemnities of \$480,499.39 to Mexico, China, Italy and Great Britain on account of mob violence in a few States that are honeycombed with little-bitty, small, weak governments. The records of American history show that all this race question talk about fine passions by the press, pulpit, and especially politicians and statesmen from our Presidents down, is rot. In years of a close and diligent research, I have found that through all the colonial days of American life and also up to 1850, when counties began to grow, the city and country gentlemen invariably, in case of rape and other crimes,

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and rape especially, always respected the law. Lynching in colonial days was virtually unheard of. The race prejudice is no new thing.

The man who knows anything about the history of the negro race in America must smile when he reads "The Crisis." "The Crisis" has now over 100,000 subscribers; and its editor is giving its readers poison. Yes, the race prejudice propaganda is but the fuse to the powder that is under us all, and God have mercy upon the misdirected, educated negro when it ignites!

Editor Du Bois and the "National Association for the Advancement of Colored People" should drop at once and forever their race prejudice propaganda and it will be a monument to their memory more lasting than brass or marble.

What the negro and the white man want, and what the white man and the negro must have, if they are to live in peace, is a strong and just law to apply equally to all concerned.

Every man that can read understandingly, if he will stop to reason and investigate, will find that a little-bitty, small, weak government cannot and does not prevent lawlessness. People may laugh about merging the several thousands of counties in our States into a sane and workable number. But until a law is enacted and put into effect that no county can exist below a minimum, say, 200,000 inhabitants, property and life will not be safe.

Race prejudice (given as a cause in small counties where lynching occurs, for it does not occur in large counties) is only an excuse. The cause is the lack of a strong county law, for only a strong county can have a strong arm of law. I quote from page 357, "Outline of Practical Sociology":

"In Europe, where the statutes have grown up from tradition and ancient customs, the law is regarded as a more sacred institution; in a very real sense it is the product of a superior authority. Law in its institutional sense is as much a predetermined factor in daily affairs as is one of the laws of nature. Social and political conditions are fixed. Politics do not enter into the enforcement of law. Civilization is distributed in a more nearly equal measure and the law is enforced with equal vigor over the whole country."

Here the author has used fine rhetoric of high-sounding phrases that will mislead many. There are no small kingdoms in Europe as small as our little-bitty, small, weak county governments. Law in a republic is what that republic makes it. "Social and political conditions are fixed." How? Why, by law!

In our little-bitty, small, weak counties there have been lynched something like 4000 men, women and children since 1882, and there has not been reported even one lynching in any of the large, strong counties. Is there a man who can answer the argument?

Now mark this: There have not been 15 convictions out of these thousands of lynchings, and you can easily figure 10 violators of the law who had a hand in "lynching the law" in each instance, which makes forty thousand times that the law has been lynched.

My friend, no man can tell who will be the next victim who lives in a little-bitty, small, weak county when hell breaks loose. My friend, if you live in a small county, the powder is under your hearthstone, and if the fuse is touched off, God help you!

The excuse of rape for violating the law is all bunk. If our law will not punish a man for rape, then it will not punish him for anything unless it chooses to do so. The fact is, we virtually have no law. In the words of "Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch," we have all "back-slowed" from the law. "The Constitution is out of date," so some people say. And the Southern States are "honey-combed with officers," that, Thomas Jefferson warned us, would "eat out our substance." Every cell is dripping with lawlessness and expense. Man, stop and think what will the harvest be!

If you will allow me space I will say a word to the cowards. The man who publicly expresses or holds the opinion that Senator Williams expressed in the Senate the other day on lynching will be found a coward in every sense of the word. He would pull down the house of jurisprudence on all the maidens and mothers in the land of the free! Such poison was never injected into the government of a civilized nation before. The day of the ignorant grandstand player is fast passing. Mark those words.

The chastity of woman has nothing to do with the "lynching of the law." Lynch the law, if you please, and the chastity of all is in danger. My God, think of such poison injected into a civilized government!

When we look at the record between 1882 and 1903, before lynching gained its great momentum, we find 2060 negroes lynched, or 94 per year, and 1169 whites lynched, or 54 per year.

Of the 4000 men, women and children that have been lynched in the land of the free; yes, deprived of their lives without due process of law as guaranteed by the greatest Government on earth, about 3000 were lynched for something foreign to the nature of rape. Who had Mayor Smith of Omaha raped, that the mob should attempt to rape the law incarnate?

I ask the sentimental cowards, that of the 63 females—40 colored and 23 whites—who were made in the image of Eve by Mother Nature and were lynched between the dates 1882 and 1903, before lynching got under its present headway—who had they raped?

Any man, be he minister of the gospel, president, senator, congressman, governor, mayor, commissioner, justice of the peace, municipal officer, or policeman, of any kind in these United States of America, that condones lynching or protects a member of a mob who has the intention of lynching an American citizen, is not only a traitor to the Constitution under which he is blessed, but is a traitor to civilization and the God that gave him being.

I have just looked over a digest of leading American editors' opinions on lynchings that have been given out by them during the last 30 days, and they all seem stumped as to cause and remedy. It is appalling to see the ignorance that is displayed in the press about a subject that by common consent the great majority have never studied for even one day in their lives. One says "We are living in an atavistic period," another, "The unthinkable, the unbelievable, has actually come to pass."

We are not in atavistic period, and the unthinkable, the unbelievable has not actually come to pass. Anyone who has given the matter its due study and thought knows that it is only a case of cause and effect. The only wonder is that it is not much worse. The train with its conductors or system has put the nation to sleep while on her joyride to hell, and it is now only gaining momentum.

In order that we may analyze the nation's system of small-county governments, I here submit one unit, which is a map of Georgia clipped from my morning paper. This does not include the counties hatched at the last Legislature's sitting, though it shows more separate, individual and distinctive kingdom governments than in all Southern Europe, and of the inhabitants of Georgia there are not enough people to maintain 20 strong and safe governments, much less 157.

The editor, when a lynching occurs, if he writes at all, grabs his pen and rails at the people for violating the law. He never stops to think that our people have been fed on "State Rights" milk, from the cradle to the grave, ever since 1787; that every tiny county is a State and is guaranteed by every foot of land and all the nation's wealth and laws outside of that kingdom or county; that a man shall be allowed to do as he pleases; and that no law on earth

shall try a man for lynching but his own county. These tiny kingdoms can kill their subjects like hogs if they want to, and under State rights they know that there is no law on earth to prosecute them but their own law; no judge ever prosecutes himself.

The poor, tiny sheriff in a tiny county is to be pitied instead of censured. The editors never stop to analyze his position, they simply grab the pen and proceed to roast him. When one analyzes his position, he finds every leader of a trades-union, every leader of a fraternal order, every leader of a church, ever leader of a Y. M. C. A., every leader of the Knights of Columbus; in fact, the leaders of all organizations and their members in this tiny county know the sheriff personally and call him by his name, whatever that might be, George, Mike, Bill, Ed, Gus, etc. If any one of these great "I am" organizations gets wrought up and begins to stamp the ground about something that someone has done, whom the tiny sheriff and his jailor (who possibly may be his wife or some servant on the place) has locked up in the tiny jail, the first thought that flushes in these madmen's minds is vengeance. They say: "We'll go get the scoundrel and hang him up, and if that little, tiny Ed, Gus or Bill, the sheriff, does not behave and make himself scarce, we will hang him up, too." So what is the poor helpless, tiny sheriff to do? If he calls for help outside of his tiny county he has ruined himself in his little kingdom.

It is all right to talk about being brave and having nerve. But a man that throws himself in front of a moving train you call an idiot, or say that he committed suicide. For a tiny sheriff to refuse to obey one of these little "I am" organizations in one of these counties is worse than suicide.

In a large county where a sheriff has a big jail and 50 deputies and can swear in as many more as he needs, there is no trouble. The great "I am" organizations know that the sheriff is responsible to 500,000 people who are not excited and that these people will stand up to him and see that justice is done.

Lynching and the race question can be buried in 30 days and good order prevail if fearless brains will get to work and give us a strong county government. Then let other nations' governmental business alone, and attend to ours.

Meddling with other nations' governmental business was never dreamed of by the American people. It was sprung on us after the war, and may God have mercy on the springers!

According to governmental science, government is in a degree as perfect and strong as the people who form that government.

When understanding changes the standpoints of government from an unjust to a just basis we shall gain the reality of government, the control of law over crime, and we shall perceive government in its true principle.

Over-organization for the uplift of humanity yesterday foreshadowed the hypocrisy and Bolshevism of today. Merge the superfluous and purge and purify the remaining secular and religious organizations, coupled with honest work, is the only salvation of our civilization.

Righteousness, peace and purity are the landmarks of perfect government. The purification of government is a proof of progress, and moral courage is requisite to meet the wrong and to proclaim the right.

Reason is man's most active faculty. How are we using it?

Inconsistency is shown by words without deeds, which are like small county governments without results. W. E. WIMPY.



Superfluous Counties Must Be Eliminated If Civilization Is to Last

A small county government is the mote in the governmental eye.

A small tiny county government is but the skin over the bone of hypocrisy, and a mockery of civil and criminal government.

Superfluous counties are but barnacles that will sink the ship of state.

Over-organization will eat out the substance of any nation.

A swarm of officers will fill a hive with crime, from grafting to lynching. The evidence is always manifest.

By their deeds a people are known.

A civilized state that condones lynching is but the shell on an egg of hypocrisy.

Words when not accompanied with deeds are but warm air misspent.

The Majesty, Might and Strong Arm of the Law does not apply to a tiny county law.

One may as well speak of the Majesty, Might and Strong Arm of a bessy bug.

Obedience, Reverence and Respect by society of a tiny county law will never be.

In the degree that a few have power in that degree they will use it.

When the States' Legislatures set up 1568 sovereign county governments east of the Mississippi River they seduced the Laws, Majesty, Might and Respect in the tiny counties. This crime cannot be laid at the door of Rape, Race Prejudice or the Carpetbagger. Rape has nothing to do with making, administering or voting for the law. The negro is not allowed to sit in the legislative halls, to administer law, or vote in the primaries, and the Carpetbagger has not been in our midst in 40 years. The evidence and facts are that Rape lynches no one.

The negro does not practice lynching, and the Carpetbagger lynches no one. BUT the white man lynches his own law at will, and then begs the question by putting forth Rape, Race Prejudice and Carpetbaggers. In the light of the facts, the argument is idiotic.

State criminal law under our system is a mockery and a farce; it exists in name only, not in fact. The county in America is the sovereign Kingdom when it comes to crime, not the State. Hence, the cause of America leading the world in a staggering per cent. of crimes.

Greed in some, lack of courage in others and the desire for office by politicians has caused the perpetuation of the system; but, thank God! necessity here is the parent of change, as it is the parent of invention.

Whether we want to or not, we have got to reduce the number of superfluous counties to retain civilization.

I have pointed the way, diagnosed the case, and named the specific remedy. To do more is not in the power of mortal man. I leave the immortal truth with my people, while time is fast conveying mortal man to his windowless palace of rest.

W. E. WIMPY.

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